

Exploring the Relationships Between Craft Breweries and their Surrounding Communities

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INTRODUCTION

Thousands of microbreweries have popped up across the United States. The increased demand for local craft beer transforms cities and neighborhoods, leading many to wonder whether they are catalysts for neighborhood revitalization or gentrification. Craft breweries require a unique space—typically large industrial properties that are zoned for manufacturing. This often leads them to put down their roots in post-industrial, distressed neighborhoods; where they can buy or rent large properties for an incredibly low price. They are often one of the first commercial establishments to open in these neighborhoods—sparking a wave of reinvestment. Some argue that breweries are the catalyst that these neighborhoods need since they attract tourism and other food and retail establishments. Others argue that they do not fulfill community needs and pave the way for attracting new residents while driving long-time residents away. Regardless, the relationships between craft breweries and communities are hotly debated but not well researched.

The objective of this research is to further understand local breweries' role in neighborhood revitalization. The research explores how breweries view their role in neighborhood revitalization, and how they interact with their community. This research will help local breweries understand the impact that they have on the surrounding community, and guide breweries to consider their role in changing a neighborhood.

By interviewing brewery management and staff in Ohio, this study hopes to further understand the brewery perspective of the relationships they have with their communities. This

study seeks to add to the current limited research about how breweries impact their neighborhoods. It broadly asks the following question:

How do breweries interact with and perceive their relationships with the communities in which they reside?

This study does not explore the community perspective of these relationships, it obtains only the brewery perspective—one that has not been well-explored or understood to date. The following proposal outlines the rationale and design of this study.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND & RATIONALE

Current research on breweries relationships with their communities is limited. The brewery industry has grown rapidly in the past few years and have spurred new development, which served as the idea behind this study. It is important to understand the industry profile, methods of community development, and corporate social responsibility as context to this research.

Industry Profile

The craft beer industry has experienced impressive growth in the past decade. The American Brewers Association defines “craft brewer” as small, independent, and traditional (2018). Small refers to breweries with an annual production of 6 million barrels of beer or less; independent means that less than 25% of the brewery is owned or controlled by an alcohol industry member that is not a craft brewer; and traditional refers to “a brewer that has a majority of its total beverage alcohol volume in beers whose flavors derive from traditional or innovative brewing ingredients and their fermentation” (American Brewers Association, 2018).¹ There were 6,266 operating craft breweries in 2017, compared to 2,898 in 2013.² Most of these breweries (72%) are located in metropolitan areas with populations of 250,000 people or more.³

Craft beer is most popular with millennials. While they make up 26% of the drinking aged population, they account for over half of individuals who drink craft beer on a weekly basis. One of the key factors driving the popularity of craft beer is the neo-localism movement—the

¹ <https://www.brewersassociation.org/statistics/craft-brewer-defined/>

² <https://www.brewersassociation.org/press-releases/small-and-independent-brewers-see-sustained-growth-in-2017/>

³ Reid N. (2018) *Craft breweries, adaptive reuse, and neighborhood revitalization*, Urban Development Issues, vol. 57, pp. 5–14 DOI: 10.2478/udi-2018-0013

idea that people are distinctively choosing locally made products over national or regional products. Farmer's markets, local festivals, "eat local" campaigns, and craft breweries are all examples of neo-localism.⁴ According to Flack, W., the beer that an individual chooses to drink is a marker of self-definition.⁵ Further, he claims that good beer comes from large national breweries, but it doesn't satisfy the "neolocal craving". The setting of the beer is as important the quality of the beer itself, and breweries must display a perceived uniqueness and attachment to the local culture. This is largely why breweries have had significant impacts on neighborhood revitalization.

Breweries tend to geographically cluster. Reid and Lehnert found evidence of clustering in nine cities, and cite supply and demand factors responsible for this.⁶ Clustered breweries create brewery districts, which serve as entertainment districts that can easily attract millennials, who often prefer urban, walkable environments. Clustering also allows breweries to share ideas and engage in events together. Locals and visitors alike often enjoy visiting craft breweries to get a local taste, but many question how much community members visit them.

There is much debate on the future of the brewery industry and whether its boom will continue; however, evaluating the economic future of the industry is beyond the scope of this study. The industry is currently growing, and neighborhoods are facing its related challenges right now. This study will help breweries and community developers understand the unique role

⁴ Flack, W. (1997) *American Microbreweries and Neolocalism: "Ale-ing" for a Sense of Place*, Journal of Cultural Geography, 16:2, 37-53, DOI: [10.1080/08873639709478336](https://doi.org/10.1080/08873639709478336)

⁵ See Flack, W. (1997) pg. 41

⁶ Isabelle Nilsson, Neil Reid & Matthew Lehnert (2018). *Geographic Patterns of Craft Breweries at the Intraurban Scale*, The Professional Geographer, 70:1, 114-125, DOI: 10.1080/00330124.2017.1338590

of breweries in neighborhood revitalization, and how to engage with the community in an inclusive way.

Gentrification vs. Revitalization

It is important to distinguish between the terms “gentrification” and “revitalization” for this study, as the two are often conflated. Many are quick to decry new business and population growth as inherently harmful, but new construction does not always equate to gentrification. While there are many different definitions of gentrification, the Brookings Institution defines it as a process where higher income residents displace lower income residents; changing the character and social fabric of the neighborhood. According to this definition, three conditions must be met to qualify development as gentrification: involuntary displacement of lower income residents, upgraded housing stock, and changed neighborhood character. Revitalization on the other hand, refers to a process that improves the social, physical, and commercial aspects of a neighborhood for its residents.⁷ While revitalization may bring in new residents, it does so without replacing existing residents at the scale that gentrification does. The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity outlines the key differences between gentrification and revitalization in the chart below:

Gentrification:	Revitalization:
Widespread displacement of traditional low income residents by affluent households.	Mixed income housing development, displacement avoided.

⁷ Kennedy, M., Leonard, P. *Dealing with Neighborhood Change: A Primer on Gentrification and Policy Choices*. The Brookings Institution on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, 2001.

Residents unable to accrue wealth, remain highly susceptible to displacement.	Wealth building strategies for existing residents implemented, residents stabilized from displacement pressure.
Existing social networks, neighborhood services and local businesses disrupted in the community.	Social networks, neighborhood services and businesses reinforced in the community. Additional new business and services expand options for all residents.
Community transitions to an exclusive community, inaccessible to low income households.	Community transitions to a mixed income, mixed wealth and diverse community

Adapted from the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.⁸

In the context of this study, special focus is given to maintaining social networks, neighborhood services, and businesses in the community and ensuring that additional new businesses expand options for all residents. Breweries often signal community reinvestment, and their existence may or may not signal gentrification. The presence of a brewery alone does not mean the neighborhood is gentrifying--all other conditions discussed above must be met as well. This is an important concept to consider when examining the relationships between breweries and their local communities.

Corporate Social Responsibility

It's no secret that engaging in philanthropy and volunteering makes a business look good. However, consumers--especially millennials--are increasingly considering corporate social responsibility when making purchasing decisions. According to Forbes, a recent study showed that 82% of consumers consider corporate social responsibility when deciding what to buy and

⁸ Reece, J. *Technical Memorandum on Gentrification Issues*. The Kirwan Study of Race and Ethnicity, 2004.

from where, and 86% of millennials value their employers' corporate social responsibility practices.⁹ Engaging in philanthropy and social responsibility programs brings in business and retains employees.

Fortune also outlines four main business benefits of charitable giving: building respect and a good reputation in the community, making the community a better place to live, earning the respect from employees, and gaining connections.¹⁰ A good reputation in the community will ultimately bring in more business, so it's financially savvy to donate and engage with the community. Helping the community become a better place to live will also attract new residents and visitors with disposable income to spend at the business.

Corporate social responsibility has not been well-studied formally, but is quickly becoming a more relevant topic. The concept is important to understand in the context of this study; which focuses on community relationships and philanthropic behaviors of breweries specifically. While it is clear that engaging in socially conscious behaviors is financially beneficial for businesses, that may not be the only reason why breweries do it. There is also very limited research on how corporate social responsibility actually affects communities. This study will begin to explore some of the reasoning behind community engagement practices for breweries specifically, and how they perceive their community impact.

Conclusion

⁹ Forbes Human Resources Council. *How Community Involvement Programs can Grow your Business*. Forbes, June 8, 2017.

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbeshumanresourcescouncil/2017/06/08/how-community-involvement-programs-can-grow-your-business/#6bca5cbf421d>

¹⁰ Holzman, Cappy. *Four Ways your Company Benefits by Giving Back*. Fortune.com. January, 2015.

<http://fortune.com/2015/01/27/4-ways-your-company-benefits-from-giving-back/>

The current literature on breweries relationships with communities is limited. There are some studies on how the craft beer industry has grown, and how breweries change neighborhoods and attract investments. There are a few resources about how corporate social responsibility benefits businesses, but very little on how it benefits communities. There appears to be a gap in literature that explores the brewery perspective. No studies to our knowledge interview breweries and ask how they perceive and interact with their neighborhoods, so this study will begin to create that knowledge to be built upon in the future. Again, breweries act as unique local businesses that have recently spurred new economic investments and created unique challenges for communities across the country. It is necessary that city planners and industry leaders begin to understand the relationships that breweries have with their communities, and how those can be cultivated in a productive, equitable way.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Procedures & Research Design

Interviews

This study focuses specifically on craft breweries in Ohio; using the definition provided by the American Brewers Association. It employs qualitative methods in the form of semi-structured interviews with brewery management and staff. Each respondent was interviewed individually; either over the phone or on the site of the brewery or its offices.

At the start of each interview, the evaluator (Caroline Corona) used a verbal informed consent process. Informed consent notified participants of the intent of the research, as well as the recording, transcription, and analysis of their responses. The informed consent also discussed participant's rights and their ability to leave the interview at any time without any consequences or loss to them. They were also notified that their identity and brewery affiliation would be kept confidential. After verbal consent was obtained, the interview began and lasted approximately 30 minutes. The evaluators collected around seven interviews in total with different breweries.

The recordings were destroyed after transcription, and any identifying information such as participants' name, job title, or brewery affiliation was changed in the transcription and analysis to keep confidentiality. Rather than referring to the breweries by name, a letter was assigned to each brewery (Brewery A, Brewery B, etc.) to maintain confidentiality. The neighborhoods in which they are located are assigned numbers (Neighborhood 1) to avoid the risk that readers figure out which brewery is discussed based on the neighborhood location. There was a slight risk that the device used to record interviews gets lost or stolen and someone

finds the recordings. However, transcribing and destroying the interviews as quickly as possible mitigates this risk.

Neighborhood Profiles

Additionally, the research team analyzed neighborhood demographics and history over the period that the breweries opened to get a sense of how the area has changed, using data from neighborhood and city plans, U.S. Census Bureau, local news sources and blogs, and more. This part used public data available from the U.S. Census Bureau, and did not pose any risks to participants.

Website Content Analysis

As previously discussed, breweries often incorporate the local city and community into their branding, and some have web pages dedicated specifically to community work. This was explored further through a website text analysis of the breweries listed on the Ohio Craft Brewers Association's website. The analysis visited each website and evaluated whether the name of the brewery incorporated the community, whether there was a dedicated community page, and if the website listed a dedicated community staff member. Breweries that were listed as "in planning" by the Ohio Craft Brewers Association and breweries without official websites were excluded from the analysis. The final analysis included 180 independent breweries in Ohio.

A brewery's name was deemed to incorporate the surrounding community if it directly included the name of the city, neighborhood, or street; or if the name was explained as incorporating the surrounding community in another section of the website. If it was not immediately clear through either of these, it was decided that the name did not incorporate the

surrounding community. It is possible that some breweries were categorized incorrectly. Some breweries did not explain the meaning of their name on their website, so they could have incorporated the community but were not counted because it was not immediately clear.

Dedicated community pages were evaluated using the websites' menus. If there was a specific page or subpage dedicated to community work, the brewery was scored accordingly. The research team then analyzed the webpage text and pulled out key phrases and topics. These topics and phrases were then aggregated and coded from common themes. If a staff member was listed on their community page or on a staff list on the website, the brewery was determined to have a dedicated staff member. If there was no community staff member listed on the website, it received a negative score. It is possible that some breweries have community staff members but don't list them on their website; or an individual with a different title handles community work; which would cause them to be categorized incorrectly.

Program Participant Selection

The Ohio Craft Brewers Association represents all Ohio craft breweries, and the association's website provided a list of potential participants. The research team recruited participants by emailing and calling the breweries listed on the Central Ohio section of the Ohio Brewers Association's website. The brewery's general contact information was found on each individual brewery's website—if the brewery's staff contact information was listed on the website, the research team tried to contact the appropriate person directly.

Measurement/Instrumentation

The proposed study relies on both qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews with brewery management and staff and a content analysis of breweries' websites. Interview questions focused on participants' view of the neighborhood, their target audience, why they located there, and how they interact with community members. The following questions were used to guide the conversation:

1. Could you describe the neighborhood in which the brewery operates?
2. How does your branding incorporate the surrounding community/city?
3. Who is your target audience/consumer?
4. Why did you choose to build in the neighborhood that you did?
5. What are some of the benefits of establishing the brewery in that neighborhood?
6. How have you seen the surrounding neighborhood change since you started?
7. Did you face any community pushback when you were first starting your brewery?
8. How do you interact with the surrounding community?
 - a. Do you hold community events? Who comes to these events?
 - b. Do you engage in local philanthropic efforts?
 - c. Do you attend local community meetings/neighborhood commissions?
 - d. Did you interact with community members during the site selection or building process?

Participants' answers also guided the conversation towards other topics and questions, which is why the interviews were semi-structured.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis methods were used to interpret the interviews and website content analysis. Interview responses were audio recorded, transcribed, and coded for common themes and responses in two stages: open and axial coding. In the open coding stage, transcripts are analyzed for themes. The axial coding stage follows by refining themes and building explanations for them.

Ethical Considerations

This study posed low personal risk to those who participated in interviews. Participation was voluntary, and participants could withdraw at any time. Each participant was given an informed consent in compliance with the Office of Responsible Research Practices and the Institutional Review Board. The confidentiality of both the brewery and the individual participant was maintained by referring to the breweries with letters and the neighborhoods with numbers.

Limitations

The biggest limitation of this study is that it does not explore the community perspective of craft breweries. This is a crucial component to understanding the relationships between breweries and communities and should be studied further in the future. However, time constraints currently limit the study to only the brewery perspective. The findings of this study was limited to Ohio breweries, and will not represent breweries in other regions or cities of the

United States. Future studies should explore the community perspective and other cities or regions in the United States.

Timeline

This study was completed between the months of January 2019 through April of 2019. The specific timeline was as follows:

- Mid-December: Submit IRB application & finish literature review
- January-February: Gain IRB approval, contact and interview breweries; record and transcribe interviews
- March: Analyze data using open and axial coding; write final report
- April 17th: Submit to faculty committee, make edits accordingly
- May 1st: Submit final copy to Ohio State University

Conclusion

Breweries impact neighborhoods by serving as catalysts for development. Understanding breweries' perspectives in this process and how breweries interact with the community is vital to understanding how they can drive inclusive development. The research in this topic is very limited, and this study expands the current literature. More research will be needed in the future, but this is a good start to exploring the growing relationship between communities and breweries. Breweries are unique businesses that require specific building types and community needs, and it's important for them to understand how they drive development and impact local neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 3: FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Neighborhood Profiles

The research team interviewed breweries in the following Ohio neighborhoods, which are primarily located in Columbus and Cincinnati. These include West Franklinton, Columbus; Over the Rhine, Cincinnati; Pendleton, Cincinnati; Arena District, Columbus; Weinland Park, Columbus; and Clintonville, Columbus. Each neighborhood has a unique character and history, and each face diverse economic challenges. These neighborhoods are all undergoing redevelopment for the most part, and are all in different stages of the development process. A brief demographic snapshot and historical overview is provided below for each neighborhood. For confidentiality purposes, the names of breweries that were interviewed in these neighborhoods are not included.

West Franklinton, Columbus



Source: West Franklinton Plan

Franklinton was one of the Columbus, Ohio's earliest settlements, and has a long and complex history of disinvestment. West Franklinton is approximately 1.7 square miles and has a population of about 8,830; dropping 51% from over 18,000 in 1950. West Franklinton is predominantly white (approximately 70%) and black (approximately 23%), and household income levels are lower than Columbus. Nearly 44% of households earn less than \$15,000, and 2 out of every 3 households are in an income range that makes attainment of basic needs difficult. Approximately half of the population has not received a high school diploma, which creates significant barriers to economic opportunity for residents of the neighborhood.¹¹

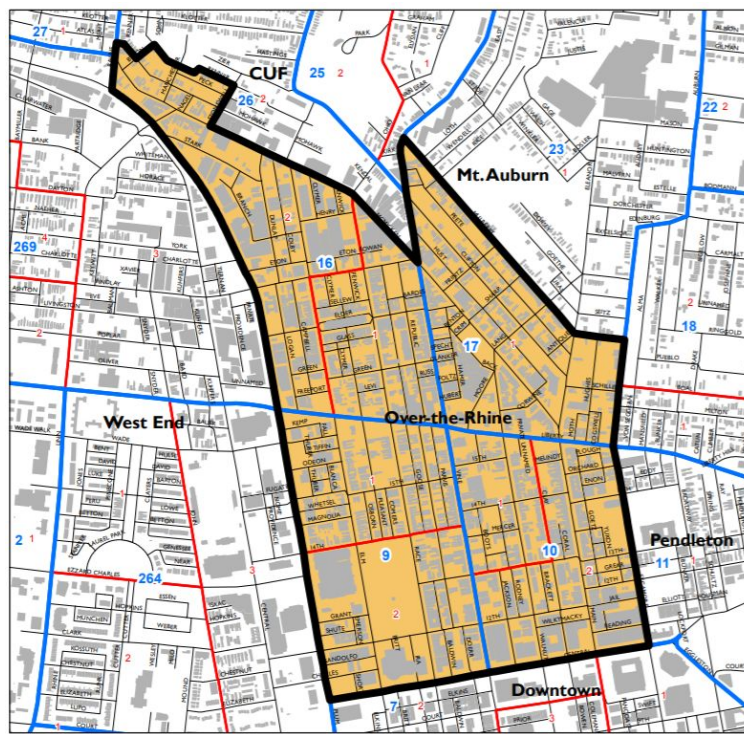
Once a booming neighborhood, Franklinton saw repeated flooding throughout the 20th century-the most significant in 1913. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) eventually declared Franklinton a floodplain in 1983, and the city of Columbus followed suit. High flood insurance premiums and strict building requirements led many property owners to abandon the area and prevented new investment in the neighborhood. This is often cited as the leading factor in Franklinton's economic decline, and how the neighborhood received the nickname "The Bottoms". However, the construction of the West Columbus Local Protection Project, also known as the Franklinton Flood Wall, in 1993 created new opportunities for growth and reinvestment. The Center of Science and Industry (COSI) opened in the neighborhood in 1999, which created jobs and increased consumer spending. A series of other projects in the neighborhood after the construction of the floodwall have continued to revitalize the neighborhood.¹²

¹¹ See "Existing Conditions" in the *West Franklinton Plan*. Columbus Planning Commission, 2014.

¹² City of Columbus, Department of Development, Planning Division. *The Franklinton Plan: A Community Vision for the Future*. July, 2003.

The primary source of employment in Franklinton is health care and social services. Mount Carmel Health has a large medical campus in the area, but is relocating much of it to Grove City. The space will be transformed to a mixed-use development, which many hope will bring more jobs and new investments to the neighborhood.¹³ The Mount Carmel redevelopment plan, as well as a series of other proposed projects, raise concerns about the affordable housing stock in Franklinton and worries about gentrification. As home prices and rents increase, many residents have been forced out. Many question whether Franklinton's development is heading more towards gentrification.¹⁴

Over the Rhine, Cincinnati



Source: City of Cincinnati

¹³ Ball, Brian R. *Wagenbrenner set to Redevelop Mount Carmel West*. Columbus CEO. February 26, 2019. <https://www.columbusceo.com/news/20190226/wagenbrenner-set-to-redevelop-mount-carmel-west>

¹⁴ Mark Ferencik, *As Franklinton Grows, Will Affordable Housing Shrink?* The Columbus Dispatch. January 28, 2018.

Over the Rhine (OTR) is perhaps one of the most rapidly changing neighborhoods in Cincinnati. It has undergone remarkable transformation and development in the past decade, becoming one of Cincinnati's most booming neighborhoods. It has earned recognition across the state and country for its unbelievable transformation from one of the most dangerous neighborhoods to one of the most attractive. Many argue that the development was necessary and helped improve the city as a whole, but some aren't so quick to agree. The neighborhood is a prime example of how revitalization and gentrification are often pitted against each other, and it is not always clear which is the case.

According to 2010 census data, Over the Rhine's population is a little more than 6,000 and is predominantly African American (73%). Nearly half (46%) of the neighborhood's housing units are vacant, and approximately 88% of housing units are rented. The median income is \$14,517, which is below the poverty line. Over the Rhine is one of Cincinnati's most historic neighborhoods--over 85% of structures were built before 1939.¹⁵

Once dubbed one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in the U.S.¹⁶, Over the Rhine has complex history and is changing quickly. The name comes from the influx of German immigrants to Cincinnati in the early to mid-1800's, who settled on the far side of the canal connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River. People referred to the area as "going over the Rhine"--Rhine meaning "river" in German, and thus the neighborhood was named accordingly. Anti-German sentiments during World War II drove residents out and deteriorated Over the Rhine's German heritage. The neighborhood continued to struggle to retain residents, and only

¹⁵ Department of Planning and Buildings, City of Cincinnati; U.S. Census Bureau. *Over the Rhine Statistical Neighborhood Approximation*. April 2012.

¹⁶ Wells, Dan. *Cincinnati's Most Dangerous Neighborhoods*. Fox19Now.com. February 23, 2010. <http://www.fox19.com/story/12026978/cincinnati-s-most-dangerous-neighborhoods/>

the city's poorest residents remained concentrated in Over the Rhine for decades. The 1980's brought a fierce anti-gentrification movement, in which community leaders fought efforts to place Over the Rhine on the National Register of Historic Places, open new businesses, rehabilitate dilapidated buildings, and more. By 2007, the population had dropped to 5,000, and historic buildings crumbled. The killing of African American, 17-year-old Timothy Thomas by police officer Steven Roach in 2001 ignited days of unrest and violence, and the city decided something needed to be done immediately.¹⁷ Then-Mayor Charlie Luken decided to abolish Cincinnati's planning department at the advice that economic development should be run by a non-profit instead.¹⁸

The Cincinnati Center City Development Corporation, or 3CDC for short, was formed in 2003; bringing together Cincinnati's biggest corporate and government leaders to ensure a strong economic future for Cincinnati and Over the Rhine. 3CDC and its corporate partners began land banking hundreds of dilapidated and abandoned buildings in 2005 for future development, which is still in progress today. A \$48 million renovation of Washington Park in 2012 marked one of the most significant improvements to the neighborhood. Restaurants, office buildings, new businesses, refurbished housing, and more soon followed.¹⁹

Over the Rhine also has a rich brewing history that dates back to the mid-1800's. The influx of German immigrants and the introduction of German Lager beer in the 1830's brought

¹⁷ For a comprehensive history of Over the Rhine, see Woodard, Colin. *How Cincinnati Salvaged the Nation's Most Dangerous Neighborhood*. Politico. June 16, 2016.
<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/06/what-works-cincinnati-ohio-over-the-rhine-crime-neighborhood-turnaround-city-urban-revitalization-213969>

¹⁸ Mitchell, Stacy. *Cincinnati Planning Department Abolished at Behest of Big Box Developer*. Institute for Local Self-Reliance. April 1, 2003.

¹⁹ See <https://www.3cdc.org/about-3cdc/> for more information.

the brewing industry to a larger scale in Cincinnati and Over the Rhine. The number of breweries jumped from 8 to 36 between 1840 and 1860, with most concentrated in Over the Rhine. By 1890, Cincinnati had become the third largest beer producer in the country, producing 4.2 barrels per resident annually--most coming from Over the Rhine. The beer gardens in Over the Rhine were an essential piece of the neighborhood fabric by serving as social gathering places and meeting spaces for residents of varying ethnic and economic backgrounds. Many breweries closed during prohibition and were unable to comeback after the neighborhood's decline. Today, the Over the Rhine Brewery District aims to preserve, restore and redevelop the neighborhood's rich brewing history.²⁰

Over the Rhine is now one of the most expensive neighborhoods in the city, with rents averaging \$1,613, which is 66% higher than Cincinnati's average.²¹ Many residents and planning experts have voiced concerns that the neighborhood is quickly spiraling towards gentrification--many saying it's already too late.²² Whether gentrification or revitalization, it is clear that breweries have had and continue to have an immense impact on the neighborhood's development.

Pendleton, Cincinnati

Pendleton is a small neighborhood that borders Over the Rhine, Downtown, Mount Adams, Walnut Hills, and Mount Auburn in Cincinnati. It is sometimes considered as part of

²⁰ See Over the Rhine Brewery District Community Urban Redevelopment Corporation at http://www.otrbrewerydistrict.org/about_purpose.php for more information

²¹ Numbers obtained from RentCafe.com. See more at <https://www.rentcafe.com/average-rent-market-trends/us/oh/cincinnati/>

²² Brenneman, Brianne. *Gentrification Disguised as Revitalization*. Agora Journal. Taubman College of Architecture and Planning, University of Michigan. February 21, 2018.

Over the Rhine, but is officially a separate neighborhood. It has a population of approximately 900 and is predominantly black (approximately 76%). The majority of housing units are renter-occupied (approximately 85%), and the median income is \$13,397, which is below the poverty line. Pendleton is a historic neighborhood, as the vast majority (88%) of structures were built before 1939.²³

The neighborhood is often referred to as the “Pendleton Arts District”. It is home to the Pendleton Arts Center, which has one of the world’s largest collections of artists in one building.

²⁴ As mentioned above, it is a very historic neighborhood and is part of the Over the Rhine Historic District.

The neighborhood is facing new development and investment, much like Over the Rhine. The Jack Casino (formerly Horseshoe Casino) opened in the neighborhood in 2013, paving the way for more entertainment and business investment. Around the time of the casino’s construction, the city of Cincinnati dedicated around \$6 million in tax increment financing for infrastructural improvements, which paved the way for further commercial investment.²⁵ Crime continues to decrease in Pendleton, which has made it even more attractive to investors.²⁶ Alongside the Casino, new restaurants and businesses have opened in the past few years.

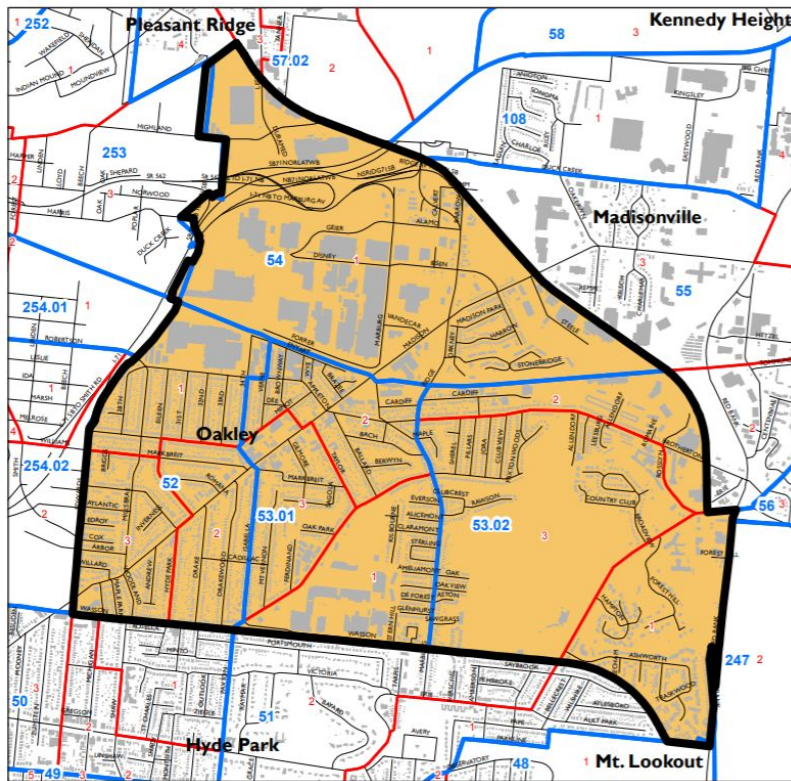
²³ Department of Planning and Buildings, City of Cincinnati; U.S. Census Bureau. *Pendleton Statistical Neighborhood Approximation*. April 2012.

²⁴ See Pendleton Arts Center webpage. https://www.pendletonartcenter.com/cincinnati_oh.html

²⁵ McCartney, Hannah. *A Neighborhood of One’s Own*. CityBeat. March 6, 2013. <https://www.citybeat.com/news/article/13008053/a-neighborhood-of-ones-own>

²⁶ Ingram, Angela. *Pendleton's revival: Once troubled neighborhood now houses new development, restaurants*. Local 12 News, WKRC. March 24, 2018.

Oakley, Cincinnati



Source: City of Cincinnati

Oakley is an inner ring suburb of Cincinnati, with a total population of about 10,400. It is predominantly white (86%) and the median income household income is \$48,024, which is slightly below the median income in the United States, but well above the poverty line. The poverty rate is approximately 16.7%. There are more renters (57%) than homeowners (43%). The median home value ranges from \$142,000 to \$136,000; depending on the census tract. Approximately 66% of structures were built before 1950, with around 34% built before 1939.²⁷

²⁷ Department of Planning and Buildings, City of Cincinnati; U.S. Census Bureau. *Oakley Statistical Neighborhood Approximation*. April 2012.

The neighborhood has a mostly industrial history. When the Cincinnati Milling Machine Company moved to Oakley in 1905, the neighborhood grew rapidly as factory workers flocked to work for the Mill. The large factory eventually closed in the 1970's but the neighborhood retains an industrial aesthetic.²⁸

A new mixed-use development, Oakley Station, operates on the site of the former Cincinnati Milling Machine Company factory. It includes a wide variety of restaurants, retail, offices and apartments. Some have expressed disappointment with the site's suburban feel, and argue that the massive parcel could have had much more potential to maintain the neighborhood's historical industrial feel.²⁹ Regardless, the development signals recent investment in the area as it aims to accommodate young professionals and families.

Arena District, Columbus

The Arena District in Columbus is home to most of Columbus's biggest entertainment attractions--such as the Columbus Convention Center, Nationwide Arena, Express Live and Huntington Park. North Market--another major Columbus attraction--is also located in the neighborhood. Over 6.3 million people visit the arena district annually, and it is home to approximately 1,000 housing units and over 2,400 hotel rooms. The Arena District is owned and developed by Nationwide Realty Investors, which invested \$1 billion to develop the area.³⁰

The Columbus Crew recently announced the construction of a new stadium near the Arena District. The plan will create a new site called "Confluence Village" and will include a

²⁸ *Oakley History*. Cincy.com. 2013. <http://cincy.com/home/neighborhoods/parms/1/hood/oakley/page/history.html>

²⁹ Smith, RJ. *The Two Faces of Oakley*. Cincinnati Magazine. November 9, 2015.

³⁰ *Advertising in the Arena District*. Nationwide Realty Developers, 2019. See more at <http://www.arenadistrict.com/advertising/>

new stadium, mixed use development, and more. The project is currently estimated to cost \$230 million total; a major investment for the neighborhood that is likely to impact housing costs and future investment.³¹

Weinland Park, Columbus



Source: Weinland Park Civic Association

Weinland Park is a fast changing neighborhood bordered by the Short North and University District. It was one of Columbus’ “street-car suburbs” and was home to many industrial and blue-collar workers. It fell victim to urban flight, and experienced significant population decline and job loss.³² It is predominantly black (55%) and white (33%). According to

³¹ Bush, Bill. *New Crew SC Stadium would Anchor Confluence Village West of the Arena District*. The Columbus Dispatch, December 7, 2018. <https://www.dispatch.com/news/20181206/new-crew-sc-stadium-would-anchor-confluence-village-west-of-arena-district>

³² Weinland Park Community Civic Association. *About the Neighborhood*. <http://weinlandparkcivic.org/about-2/>

the 2016 Weinland Park Collaborative Community Survey, 51% of respondents receive food stamps, which is down 4% from 2010. The survey also reports that 35% of respondents are unemployed, which is down from 44% in 2010. The neighborhood is primarily renters (89%), which has also decreased (from 91%) since 2010.³³ As these numbers show, the neighborhood is on the upswing with a declining number of welfare recipients and decreased unemployment rates. This is largely a result of public-private partnerships from the city, non-profit organizations and the Ohio State University.

Its proximity to the newly booming Short North and the Ohio State University has affected its development significantly. It is becoming an increasingly attractive neighborhood because of its central location, access to public transportation and major expressways, and large housing stock. However, Weinland Park has historically been disinvested from, and had one of the highest crime rates in Columbus during the 1990's. In 1995, the Ohio State University and the City of Columbus created Campus Partners to invest in and revitalize neighborhoods surrounding the university. The non-profit acquired a large number of distressed housing in Weinland Park, which was eventually transferred to the Ohio Capital Corporation for Housing (OCCH). OCCH invested more than \$30 million to renovate these homes and maintain them as affordable housing units.³⁴ Continued reinvestment and efforts to preserve affordable housing

³³ Kenitzer, Zachary E. *A Portrait of Weinland Park: Results and Analysis of the 2016 Weinland Park Collaborative Neighborhood Survey*. The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, The Ohio State University. June 19, 2017. https://columbusfoundation.org/umbraco-media/3391/report_weinland-park-collaborative-neighborhood-survey-2016.pdf

³⁴ Weinland Park Collaborative. *History of the Weinland Park Collaborative*. Weinland Park Community Civic Association. http://weinlandparkcivic.org/wp-content/uploads/WPC-history_v1.pdf

have led some people to call the neighborhood a model for revitalization, but worries of gentrification persist.

Clintonville, Columbus

Clintonville is located just north of the Ohio State University, and had an estimated population of about 30,000 in 2000. The population is predominantly white (92%) and older (see table below). Clintonville has a higher percentage of 60+ population than the city of Columbus.³⁵

Age	
<14 years of age	15%
15-29 years of age	20%
30-59 years of age	48%
60+ years of age	17%

Adapted from the Clintonville Neighborhood Plan, using U.S. Census Data from 2000.

Like most urban neighborhoods, Clintonville experienced population decline after World War II, but experienced residential and commercial revival in the late 1980's and 1990's due to its proximity to downtown. Today, Experience Clintonville, an organization dedicated to promoting the neighborhood, describes it as a “family friendly urban oasis” boasting “quiet city living with strong community ties”.³⁶ According to Zillow, the median home value in

³⁵ City of Columbus, Department of Development, Planning Division. *Clintonville Neighborhood Plan*. March 2, 2009.

³⁶ Experience Clintonville home page. See more at <http://experienceclintonville.com/>

Clintonville is about \$288,400, which has increased by 6% over the past year and is expected to rise 4.2% in the next year. This is higher than the median home value for Columbus as a whole, which is \$154,100.³⁷

Website Content Analysis & Findings

A content analysis of brewery websites was completed as well. The research team visited the websites of all breweries listed on the Ohio Craft Brewers' Association website to evaluate whether the name incorporated the community, if there was a page specifically dedicated to community work, and if the page listed a specific staff member dedicated to community work.

Results

The analysis showed that approximately 66 breweries in the Ohio Craft Brewers' Association incorporated the community into their name. This was either by directly incorporating the name of the city or neighborhood--i.e. "City X Brewing", or by incorporating a component of the city or neighborhood's history, identity, symbol, reputation, or other. Again, if it was not immediately clear from the name itself or from another section of the website, it was assumed that the brewery did not incorporate the community into its name, which could have miscategorized some breweries.

Approximately 20 breweries had dedicated community pages, beyond simply a donation request form. The titles of such pages included "Community", "Cause", "Brewing Good", "Giving back", "Charitable Giving", "Foundation", and more. These pages ranged in depth, but usually described a desire to give back to the local community as a local business. Many pages

³⁷ Zillow.com. "Clintonville Home Prices and Values". Accessed on April 7, 2019. See more at <https://www.zillow.com/clintonville-columbus-oh/home-values/>

mentioned environmental sustainability and water quality as part of their community work, along with supporting local parks, trails, and other outdoor recreation. A significant number also mentioned health research--specifically cancer, and cystic fibrosis--and childhood education. Most of these websites included an application process or request form for donations, and some mentioned taproom fundraisers and other community-oriented events to benefit local non-profits. The breweries appeared to focus on supporting local organizations over national organizations. This makes sense as they are local businesses that express a desire to support the local community.

Interview Analysis & Findings

The research team interviewed six breweries in Ohio and asked about their perception of the neighborhood and how they interact with the local community. The individuals interviewed included brewery owners, community engagement staff, and general managers. The interviews followed the question guide in the *Methodology Section*, but some conversations led to other questions and interesting discussions. This is explained in the *Other Conversations* section.

Neighborhood Description

Each brewery representative was first asked to describe the neighborhood surrounding the brewery. While each neighborhood is unique (as shown in the neighborhood profiles), brewery representatives commonly discussed four themes: development, community, livability and history when describing their neighborhood. Most participants showed impressive knowledge of their community's demographics and history.

The development theme refers to the continued state of growth and investment in the area. Many brewery representatives described the area as a “changing neighborhood” and discussed infrastructure improvements, public and private investments, and new residents moving in. One explained that the surrounding neighborhood is going through a “renaissance” which has led to increased business activity. This theme was addressed further in conversations about how the neighborhood has changed, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Adjacent to the theme of development is livability. Participants talked about the walkability of their neighborhoods and its attractiveness to those searching for an urban community. They often talked about the proximity of their neighborhood to urban centers and the completeness of resources. One participant said of the neighborhood, “you don’t have to leave to do the things you want to do”. Many participants also described a plethora of bars, restaurants, and other things to do. Included in this theme was transportation as well--the availability of bike trails and public transit were both mentioned in these conversations.

Many interviewees also mentioned the community and people in the neighborhood. Some neighborhoods were described as tight-knit, supportive, and collaborative. Participants also described the changing community fabric as younger families, first-time homebuyers and young professionals move in. Their description of the community often seemed to be focused on this demographic, which usually makes up the profile of craft beer drinkers as well (as previously noted in Chapter 1).

The final theme most commonly discussed when describing the neighborhood was the history of it. One participant gave an impressive, complete history of the neighborhood, signaling

that they had great familiarity with the neighborhood's roots. Others simply described that the neighborhood was historic, which is shown in most of the neighborhood profiles as well. Many breweries operate in historic or repurposed structures, which sparked more conversations about the neighborhood's history. Some participants talked about their business' desire to maintain or bring back the roots of the neighborhood and pay homage to it through their name, their beer names, decor, or in other ways.

Neighborhood Change

In addition to describing the current state of the neighborhood, participants were asked to describe how they've seen the neighborhood change. The participants' employment duration with their brewery ranged from three to seventeen years, and the duration that the breweries have been open ranged from five years to twenty-six. All participants explained that their neighborhood had changed a lot from when the brewery opened or when they started working for the brewery. Participants commonly discussed prior neighborhood distress, commercial growth, and residential growth.

Most brewery representatives initially described previous economic distress, saying that the neighborhood "used to be really rough" or that "there wasn't much here". They talked about former patterns of crime and high vacancy rates, with some saying that no one wanted to come to the neighborhood. One even described the former state of the neighborhood as "no-man's land" because it was ridden with crime and there was very little commercial activity. Some explained that their choice to go into the neighborhood was often perceived as risky due to the neighborhood's distress at the time.

Most participants then described both commercial and residential growth. They explained that they've seen more restaurants, bars and shops open over the past few years and seen more visitors to the neighborhood as a result. One brewery representative talked about a major mixed-use development that opened across the street from the brewery, which may indicate that the presence of the brewery made it a more attractive site for development. They've also seen new construction and renovations in their neighborhood as more commercial investors have taken notice of the neighborhood's potential.

In terms of residential growth, participants discussed the rise of luxury condos and apartments and the influx of young professionals and families moving to the neighborhood. Many cited a rise in property values as evidence of rapid residential growth, and some expressed concerns that the area was quickly becoming unaffordable and driving existing residents out. One brewery representative explained the rapid residential growth in the surrounding neighborhoods and said that the brewery's neighborhood had become the last area of affordable housing. A few acknowledged that the development looked more like gentrification since affordable housing hadn't been preserved.

Site Selection

Participants were asked to speak to the site selection process if they could, and why they decided to open the brewery in the neighborhood they did. The most cited reasons included a desire to have an impact on the neighborhood's development, the physical attractiveness of the neighborhood, or that the owners lived in the neighborhood. A few breweries were originally

located elsewhere and moved to the neighborhood they're in now, while others set out to be in their particular neighborhood from the start.

One of the most common reasons cited for choosing the neighborhood was the desire to have an impact on the area's development. Some talked about how the neighborhood was appealing because it was underdeveloped, and they knew they could have a greater impact on the betterment of the community. Others talked about bringing back the history of the neighborhood and restoring its original culture. Some participants said they knew of city plans to invest in the neighborhood, and thought an early investment would pay off in the long run.

Many participants also talked about the sheer attractiveness of the neighborhood and its location. They talked about the walkability of the neighborhood and how that can help their business. Others talked about how their neighborhood was the lifeblood of the city and centrally located, making it an ideal spot for their brewery. Heavy car and foot traffic also influenced some participants' decisions to build in their neighborhood.

Some participants explained that their brewery actually opened in another neighborhood first, or that they had originally been looking for a property in another area. In one case, the brewery owners had planned on purchasing a property in another neighborhood, but the deal fell through at the last minute. They were unsure of what to do but another neighborhood's Board of Trade approached them and made a case for the neighborhood that they ultimately chose. Other breweries opened in one location and then found a better space in the neighborhood they currently reside.

Finally, a few other brewery representatives explained that the owners or founders live in the neighborhood and that they wanted to live and work in the same place; and again influence the development of their neighborhood. One brewery owner explained that it's easier for them to have an impact on the neighborhood when they're in it all the time. Others said that they have a better idea of what the community wants and how their business impacts the neighborhood when they live in it too.

Community Pushback

In relation to the site selection process, we asked participants if they faced any community pushback when they first selected the site or opened. Many did not start working for the brewery until after that process and declined to answer. Others said that they did not directly see any pushback, but acknowledged that there could have been some criticism privately, with one admitting that “there is a preconceived notion about what kind of business we are”.

One participant shared a story of significant community pushback--their building was vandalized with paint when they first opened in the neighborhood, but the brewery responded by donating funds to the local community house and have since focused their efforts on supporting the neighborhood. Other breweries went on to say that the community welcomed them--especially for bringing new investment--as one participant said, “for the most part a lot of the spaces down here when we first opened weren't being utilized, they were empty. So any time a business is going to go into a building that is not being used, the community--the city--is going to welcome that with open arms.” Another said that they saw a few negative comments about it, but that there was no organized opposition or protest.

Most other cases of pushback mostly focused on logistical issues--parking, traffic, and zoning. In one case, a neighboring business was opposed to the brewery's plan for parking. In another, people were largely concerned about traffic increasing when the brewery opened. Most of them said that they didn't really interact with the community during the site selection process but that part of opening a businesses included a public comment period. Others said they provided consistent updates on the process via social media.

Benefits of the Operating in the Neighborhood

Similar to describing the neighborhood, participants were asked to describe some of the specific benefits of operating their brewery in their location. Most discussions focused on the community and people in the neighborhood, the physical location, and the neighborhood's character. Participants were really excited to talk about their neighborhood and usually had a lot to say about its benefits.

Almost every brewery representative talked about the community feel. They often described the neighborhood as collaborative, supportive, and diverse. When asked this question, one participant simply said, "we have really cool neighbors". Many talked about the willingness of other groups and organizations to support and engage with their events and business. "We are not an island," said one brewery representative, "every time we have an event another organization down here is involved". One talked about having a captive audience ready to support their mission and business. Most participants tied this back into why they try to give back to the community as much as they can. One explained that "the neighborhood itself has this ethos that if you want to do something *in* the neighborhood, you have to do something *for* the

neighborhood”. Participants overall had really positive things to say about their community, and were proud to be a part of it.

Many also described the benefits of the physical location, which was often a reason cited for choosing the neighborhood in the first place; as mentioned above. Participants talked about the convenience of having a central location and being easily accessible, as well having a consistent flow of car and foot traffic. Other benefits included proximity to events and high population density.

Finally, most participants simply discussed the character of the neighborhood. Many talked about the historic feel and character, and described the neighborhood as unique from others in the city. One explained that their neighborhood has become a tourist destination and that people make it a point to come to the neighborhood and brewery from across the city and region. Another liked that their neighborhood was authentic and had mostly stuck to its roots, explaining that, “we don’t have to do super trendy things...we can just do what we like to do”. Overall, participants seemed to like their neighborhood’s character and were excited to see how it grows in the future.

Engaging with the Community

Questions about how breweries interact with the community focused on philanthropic engagements, hosting events, and participating in community meetings. Participants covered a wide variety of topics when discussing their philanthropic efforts, and each brewery seemed unique in the issues they address. Many breweries had some kind of tap-room fundraiser or

collaborative events. Every participant also talked about attending community meetings--from neighborhood commissions to interacting regularly with community leaders.

Most discussions about community engagements began with a focus on philanthropy. Many participants discussed a lot of different topics, but there was also some overlap. The most common issue that participants' breweries donated to was community development, which covered a broad range of local issues such as homelessness, poverty, and workforce development. Other common topics included education, environment and sustainability, health (subtopics included addiction assistance, cancer research, Leukemia and Lymphoma, cystic fibrosis, and children's hospice), youth services, biking, and animal rescue. Multiple breweries interviewed also take part in a Habitat for Humanity initiative called "the House that Beer Built"--a regional initiative that breweries can join to raise money for affordable housing. Most participant breweries focused their philanthropic efforts on local organizations, describing a preference for impacting the local community rather than donating to a national or international organization. Some also had beer series or types of beer that gave sales proceeds back to specific issues or organizations at any time of purchase.

When asked what the criteria was for choosing non-profits to partner with, one participant replied, "our biggest thing is just whatever most impacts the neighborhood. We don't do a whole lot of national stuff or really even regional. The majority of it is neighborhood based," which was echoed by many other participants. Another explained that their donations can go farther at the local level, saying, "I think if we can see it and be a part of it we can make a bigger impact with our dollar". Many breweries prefer to partner with organizations that follow a set of pillars or cornerstones that align with their mission. The processes for selecting non-profits

to partner with varied from a competitive application process to simply working with organizations with which the brewery had a prior relationship.

There were many different types of events that participants described, including taproom fundraisers and local community festivals or events. Some breweries held fundraisers once a week, others once a month or as requested. One said that they give 20% of their sales to a selected organization during “community happy hours”. Participants also talked about sponsoring and attending events and festivals around the community.

Finally, when talking about community interactions, participants were asked if they or another brewery representative ever attend community meetings, and all said yes. These included area commissions, neighborhood community councils, merchants associations, brewery districts, neighborhood safety, boards of trade, and individual meetings with local politicians, community members, and non-profit development directors or executive directors. Some interviewees mentioned that their owners were on the board for different non-profit and neighborhood promotion organizations. One brewery in particular mentioned that their brewery encourages all of their executive staff to sit on a local community or non-profit board for an organization of interest. It was clear that all the breweries interviewed take part in community discussions regularly.

Other Conversations

A few other topics arose outside of the scope of the original question guide since the interviews were semi-structured. Topics included historical preservation and adaptive reuse, community engagement staff positions, and relationships with other breweries.

Many brewery participants talked about their physical building, often because the structure is part of the historical context of the neighborhood. Some breweries that participated are located in former car dealerships, bottling plants, factories, and more. This fits into the pattern of breweries adapting old industrial spaces to fit their own needs. As discussed in Chapter 1, breweries often receive land use designation as “light manufacturing”, and must be in areas zoned accordingly. This has led these breweries and many others to find use in former industrial spaces and take part in the transformation of those areas.

Some participants interviewed were staff members dedicated specifically to community work, and others were owners, founders, or general managers. The community staff members often credited the existence of their position as evidence that the brewery and its owners truly care about its relationships with and impact on the neighborhood. In the words of one participant, “my position wouldn’t exist if they didn’t care about the community and neighborhood or want to steward our relationships to the best of our abilities to make sure we’re actually helping.” It’s also important to note that some breweries do not have dedicated community staff positions, but still have robust community engagement programs.

In discussing their philanthropy efforts or other events, many participants talked about how they often work with other breweries to promote the neighborhood or engage with local community organizations. Some participants are part of a collaboration of breweries in the area or so-called “brewery districts”. One participant described these relationships, saying “there’s always some kind of symbiotic relationship with whatever project we’re involved with”. This goes back to the concept that breweries benefit off of each other’s success, which was discussed in Chapter 1. Breweries are unique in this sense--they don’t compete in the same way that

traditional private markets do. Participants discussed how the presence of multiple breweries brings more people to the area, and there has been evidence found that breweries tend to geographically cluster and benefit in doing so, which is again discussed in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

This exploration of the brewery perspective provides useful information in how breweries interact with and perceive their surrounding community. Most breweries spoke very highly of their community, and were excited to watch it change. These Ohio breweries are all involved in their communities in unique ways, and see it as their responsibility. Many understand that they have a unique role in the neighborhood's development and constantly consider how their business impacts the surrounding area and residents.

While breweries often show that they care about the community, it is important to recognize that they theoretically benefit from doing so. As discussed previously, businesses that show social responsibility appeal to millennials. Some argue that businesses only promote social responsibility as a marketing mechanism to improve profitability, but interviews with these breweries show that that's not always exclusively the case.

This research also raises the question of whether those benefits are always bad--if a business is helping the community and donating to local organizations, the community likely benefits regardless of the financial benefit that the brewery receives. As one brewery participant said, "we wouldn't be who we are without the community,"--a sentiment echoed by most other participants. If the brewery is going to operate in a neighborhood, it should make the effort to learn about the community and support it in whatever way it can. Breweries should also be aware of problems with gentrification and how their presence might accelerate that.

Each brewery emphasized how much the neighborhood has changed since they opened. While there were different factors at play in each neighborhood, the breweries often opened in the early stages of a neighborhood's redevelopment--demonstrating that they influence neighborhood reinvestment by making the neighborhood more attractive. Many of them operate in historic buildings and industrial spaces, which has also allowed them to shape development in the neighborhood. It is also important to note, however, that the revitalization or gentrification of a neighborhood is financially beneficial for the breweries and mean that they may not prioritize existing residents' perspectives.

It is also worth addressing that some breweries were easier to reach than others. Those with staff members responsible for community work or those that had robust community engagement programs were more responsive and willing to participate. It is possible that this created bias in the results. Other limitations include that the study only interviewed breweries in Ohio and time constraints limited interviews to only six breweries. It also did not include the community perspective, which is essential to understanding these relationships.

Conclusion

Craft breweries are often more community-oriented than other small businesses, and this study begins to show what the relationships between breweries and their communities look like from the brewery perspective. While engaging with the community is often monetarily beneficial, this study begins to show that monetary benefits are not the sole incentive, and again raises the question of whether those benefits are harmful to the community. Further research should explore this idea.

Further studies are also needed to understand how craft breweries compare to other local businesses in terms of community engagement. The community perspective is also needed. Future studies on breweries' relationships with the community should explore local residents' viewpoints to build on this research. The community perspective is crucial to understanding these relationships, but again, time constraints limited this study to only brewery perspectives. Future studies could also be conducted exclusively on the corporate social responsibility (philanthropy) aspect of breweries and how exactly they benefit from their philanthropic engagements. However, this study introduces the perspective of how breweries participate in their communities and why; and further studies can build off of these initial findings.